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Racially-unbalanced schools should be viewed with intense concern. Negro Americans have learned that racially balanced facilities are necessary if they are to receive anything resembling equal opportunity. Balanced schools are needed to insure the necessary political leverage. Legally, the question of unbalanced schools was answered in the 1954 Supreme Court Decision. In the cultural realm integrated schools are the only form of public education which can fulfill the Negro dream of being truly part of American society. Leading from these historical, political, legal, and cultural reasons, there are a number of critical social-psychological reasons for the necessity of establishing racially-balanced schools.

The first reason is found in the area of human verbal learning. Data of various studies point to a basic principle of human learning: alteration of environmental features associated with original learning results in diminished retention and performance. Because Negroes must enter into a white-dominated society, they must receive their initial training in an integrated school.

Secondly, segregation is detrimental to the fulfillment of the aims of American education which are: to maintain the person adequately through participation in useful occupation; augment his productive potential; and cope with and understand himself. Unbalanced schools defeat these aims by failing to communicate to the Negro child the standards by which he will be judged later.

Finally, racially-unbalanced schools fail to develop creativity in the Negro child by provision of creative-stimulating conditions. Segregated schools generate a feeling of inferiority among Negroes that will affect their hearts and minds in later life.

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SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS OF RACIALLY-BALANCED SCHOOLS

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SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS OF RACIALLY BALANCED SCHOOLS

INTRODUCTION

"What's racial balance got to do with education?" recently asked a puzzled school committee member at a public hearing in a northeastern city. "Good schools are good schools," he continued, "it's the quality of teaching that counts. We have schools where almost all the children are Irish, some with almost all Italians, others with Chinese or Jews or what have you. Why are you Negroes so upset over your schools having mostly colored children?"

He peered down through the glare of the television klieg lights at the local Negro leaders who faced him. The mass media covered every word of the proceedings; the overflow crowd packed into the small chamber listened intently for the answers. Much of the media audience and the crowd in attendance were in as honest bewilderment as the questioning committee member. Why, indeed, are Negroes so upset over unbalanced schools?

Answers to this query come from many directions. Some

are historical. Negroes are the only Americans who ever endured slavery,[1] and whose very skin color activates to this day the stigma associated with that experience. Irish-Americans, Italian-Americans, Chinese-Americans, and Jewish-Americans have all faced group discrimination in the New World; but none has known the degradation of slavery nor still confronts daily discrimination at every turn. Nor have these other ethnic groups suffered from a vast system of legal and extra-legal segregation which in time made separation synonymous with rejection and oppression. Consequently. Negro Americans learned early that, for them at least, racially balanced facilities are necessary if they are to receive anything resembling equal opportunity.

Some of the answers are political and legal. Even in brick and mortar terms, separate facilities for Negroes nearly always means inferior facilities. Whether in the North or South, political realities mitigate against predominantly Negro schools receiving truly comparable instructions and facilities. In the northeastern school system of the questioning school committeeman, for example, the primarily Negro schools in the midst of the city's ghetto are typically older, more crowded, and allocate less money per pupil than the average

school in the system. Put bluntly, balanced schools are needed to insure the necessary political leverage; many white school officials reveal a strong interest in the education of Negroes only when Negroes are found in the same schools with sufficiently large numbers of whites.[2]

On de jure segregation, the Supreme Court of the United States has spoken emphatically. As early as 1873 in Washington, Alexander & Georgetown Railroad Company v. Catherine Brown, the High Court held that separate rail cars for the two races were in themselves discriminatory, regardless of how physically equal they might be. Eighty-one years later, in the famous 1954 Brown v. Board of Education Public School desegregation opinion, the Court returned to this doctrine: "We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal."

On de facto segregation, however, the law is only now being formulated. But the trend may be heading in a similar direction. A recent Illinois state statute prohibits unbalanced schools; and a recent decision of the highest state court of California favored the creation of balanced schools in a case that did not involve prior acts of explicit discrimination by

the school board. These laws and decisions do more than clear the path toward racially-integrated education. They also convince many Negroes that their dissatisfaction with segregated schools is both well-founded and worthy of protest action. Legal gains educate both whites who resist and Negroes who insist.

Further reasons for the Negro's concern involves the "American Dream" in its broadest dimensions. The Negro American is totally American; his fourteen generations here have completely immersed him in the culture. Almost two centuries of African colonization schemes for Negroes have failed to budge him; the Communist Party's tireless efforts to exploit his poverty and oppressed status have miserably failed;[3] and even the present Negro revolution aims to join, rather than to destroy, the society it confronts (See Appendix A). This basically American orientation means most Negroes have both internalized the American dream of equal opportunity and decided that the highly-valued institution of public education should be the critical focus of the effort to achieve that dream for their children. Moreover, racially-balanced schools are viewed by many Negroes as the only form of public education which can adequately fulfill the dream; for they

are convinced that only integrated living begun in the earliest years can ever eradicate racial bigotry.

Leading from these historical, political, legal, and cultural reasons, there are a variety of critical social psychological reasons why racially-unbalanced schools are a realistic focus of such intense concern today. This paper concentrates upon these psychological factors, though such factors must be evaluated within the perspective of these broader social forces just enumerated. For heuristic convenience, the social psychology of racially-balanced schools can be discussed in terms of four interrelated realms: (1) human verbal learning; (2) communication; (3) creativity; and (4) personality dynamics.

HUMAN VERBAL LEARNING

A series of early studies on human retention and forgetting of verbal material developed an important learning principle of special relevance. In one 1953 investigation, subjects learned a list of paired syllables presented against a colored background.[4] Later the experimental group was shown the same syllables presented against a differently colored background. When compared with the performance of controls, this change in background diminished the amount and accuracy of recall

and increased the trials needed to relearn the material. Other research demonstrates a similar effect. A switch in sensory mode of presentation between the learning and recall situations, for instance, results in decreased recall; thus, material learned auditorially is not well recalled visually and vice versa.[5]

Social, as well as sensory, changes in the learning context can also lead to impaired recall performance. One study noted that, when the initial learning took place without an audience, the presence of a small audience during relearning impaired retention.[6] And another investigation found that under normal classroom conditions recall is diminished when either the classroom or the proctor in the original learning situation is changed.[7] Indeed, this same research showed that even further impairment resulted when both the classroom and the proctor were changed.

Case illustrations support these findings in a variety of real life situations. A number of such cases cited in the literature involve the return of language skills once the individual is re-established in the locale where the language was originally learned.[8] Other examples report the sudden return of childhood memories when individuals re-enter their

childhood environments.[9]

All of these data point to a basic principle of human learning: Alteration of salient environmental features associated with original learning results in diminished retention and performance.[10] Two processes underlie this principle. Altered conditions deter performance in part because the stimuli necessary to elicit the originally learned acts are not effectively present; and they also deter performance because new stimuli are introduced which evoke responses which compete with the originally learned acts.[11]

The extension of this learning principle to the problem of racially-balanced schools should be obvious to all persons who have thought about the future of American race relations. The desegregation process in both the North and South continually leads to a rapid proliferation of interracial work situations - in factories, retail stores, offices, and the Armed Forces. Members of both races are called upon to perform side by side, though they typically received their initial training in largely uniracial schools. This change in racial composition between the learning and the performance situations is a salient alteration of the context,[12] acting much as the shift in classrooms and proctors mentioned earlier. Thus, even be-

fore more complex communication, creativity, and personality processes are considered, a simple learning principle highlights the necessity of balanced schools for both Negroes and whites. Maximum performance as adults requires that the initial learning situation resemble in critical features the later work situation. With interracial work situations rapidly becoming the rule, not the exception, schools are thus called upon to provide similarly interracial learning situations. Racially-balanced schools become necessary preparation for tomorrow's racially-balanced world.

The importance of this racial comparability of learning and performance situations is heightened when one remembers the enormity of the occupational upgrading that Negro Americans must achieve to enter the economic mainstream of the nation. Automation makes the problem particularly acute. (See Appendix A.) Save for service employment, Negroes are concentrated in precisely those unskilled sectors of the labor market which are contracting (farm worker and laborer) and grossly underrepresented in those skilled sectors which are expanding most rapidly (professional, technical, clerical, and sales workers).[13] Nor did the 1950's witness the scale of improvement required by the problem. Glenn calculates

that at the 1950 to 1960 rate of change non-whites in the United States would not attain their proportional representation among clerical workers until 1992, among skilled workers until 2005, among professionals until 2017, among sales workers until 2114, and among business managers and proprietors until 2730.[14] Clearly, the occupational upgrading of Negroes must accelerate to a pace five to eight times as fast as that of the 1950's. Such a rapid increment must necessarily entail not only significant breakthroughs against employment discrimination, but superior educational advantages in balanced schools. Distinctly superior schools are mandatory because this degree of mobility and upgrading is considerably greater than even the most striving of immigrant groups ever achieved during earlier times in northern cities. And balanced schools are mandatory because the positions for which Negro youth must aim -- professional, technical, clerical, and sales -- are found in appreciable numbers only in the broader society far beyond the restricted ghetto.

Even these urgent considerations do not do justice to the immense complications involving the education of Negro children for tomorrow's interracial world. A social psychological analysis must probe deeper, beginning with a considera-

tion of what racially-unbalanced schools and the American society at large communicate to the Negro child.

COMMUNICATION

Broadly speaking, public education serves society by preparing the individual (1) to maintain himself adequately through participation in a useful occupation, (2) to augment his productive potential, and (3) to cope with and understand himself. Segregation of the Negro, whether de jure or de facto, acts to the detriment of all three of these aims, for all three necessarily imply a perspective for assessment of the adequacy of performance. And the criteria for evaluating adequacy are those favored by the dominant segment of American society -- the white middle class. Apart from class complications, then, unbalanced schools defeat the broader goal of public education by failing to communicate to the Negro child the true standards by which he will surely be judged later.

Anyone who has observed so-called "Negro education" closely can testify to this fundamental breakdown of communication. Leaving aside the basic inferiority of schools typically provided for Negroes in unbalanced situations, this factor often operates to apply a lid on performance and

aspirations. Soon a dual standard evolves: one for predominantly white schools, a lower one for predominantly Negro schools. Witness the recurrent experience of exceptionally talented Negro youth who transfer from a "Negro" to a "white" school. All "A" records in Negro schools suddenly are exposed for what they are; the Negro child now struggles to make "B's" and "C's". Clark and others have shown that generally these bright youth recover from the shock of their dual standards, adjust to the new criteria and eventually perform well.[15] This occurs, of course, in part because of the superior instruction received in the balanced school. But it is also a function of exposure to the higher standards and expectations of the general society.

The critical importance of universalistic standards are seen most clearly in athletics. A 9.5-second time in the hundred yard dash is universally recognized as outstanding, whether run by a Negro or a white. Certainly, this is one of the reasons why predominantly Negro schools do so much better in athletic than in academic competition with other schools.[16] No dual standard exists in athletics.

Two further points flow from these considerations, evidence for each of which will be presented in later sections. First,

when a situation implies that the criteria for evaluation belong to the dominant group it creates extreme competitive anxiety; it assumes a superiority in the dominant group and an inferiority in other competing groups. Segregated schooling, reinforced by segregated housing, is such a situation, particularly when it is also evident that "the other group's" schooling and housing are objectively superior. Token integration, incidentally, can also result in the same devastating pattern.

Second, when a situation offers rewards relevant only to the dominant group, it also perpetuates the conviction that the race is not to be won, hence not to be run. In a number of ways such groups as the Black Muslims act out this alternative of group withdrawal; convinced that the race is "fixed," they attempt to set up their own competition with its own prizes. The importance of successful Negro models -- successful in the full sense of society-wide criteria - cannot be overemphasized as a requirement for effective socialization of Negro children. Consider the significance of the communication achieved by Mrs. Ayer, a Negro school principal, to a young Harlem boy attending P.S. 24 named James Baldwin. "She liked me. And in a way I guess she proved to me that I didn't have

to be entirely defined by my circumstances," commented Baldwin recently. "She was a living proof that I was not necessarily what the country said I was."[17]

If there is no Mrs. Ayer in the Negro child's immediate environment, if he becomes convinced that he is defeated before he begins, there are at least two interrelated types of withdrawal available to him. The Negro child can withdraw into the "Negro" role, a role of socially-defined inferior, but at least a role that receives some meager rewards. He knows his "place," meets the expectations of the passive Negro stereotype, and survives. But the psychological costs of this retreat are vast, as outlined later in the personality section. Dynamically similar is withdrawal through the unabashed seeking of immediate pleasures and gratification. This is a kind of willful participation in the unapproved because approval is seen as unattainable. This, too, meets the alternative stereotype of the id-driven Negro.

Even the most talented of Negro youth fall into these patterns. Erikson offers one explanation.[18] He suggests that in invoking negative judgments from the society, the young Negro's fulfillment of self often involves a continual process of failure. While reinforcing the society's conception

of him, it at least provides a stable reference point, even if a negative and self-defeating one. And in a context where the answer to "Who am I?" is difficult and painful at best, even a negative identity has its rewards.

The basic communication problem is, perhaps, best illustrated by drawing an analogy from schizophrenic theory.[19] The double-bind hypothesis maintains that schizophrenia is partly developed through participation in a family setting in which the messages communicated to the child are sharply contradictory, thereby inhibiting adequate responses. According to Jackson, the general characteristics of the doible-bind situation are: (1) the victim is involved in an intense interpersonal relationship where it is vitally important for him to discriminate accurately what type of message is being communicated so that he might respond appropriately; (2) the victim is caught in the cross-fire of two orders of message, one of which flatly denies the other; and (3) the victim cannot "leave the field" nor comment on the messages in such a way as to clarify the conflict.[20]

Evidence for the double-bind hypothesis comes both from observation of schizophrenogenic family interactions and from analysis of letters sent to schizophrenic patients by their

mothers. Briefly, "a typical letter starts off fine, with some sort of contact established; the mother then shifts to an emphasis on how she has troubles; she states or implies that her troubles are somehow the patient's fault . . . But then she blocks off effective contact and response by saying 'don't worry.'"[21] Not all such schozophrenogenic mothers, however, produce schizophrenic children. This is at least partly true because many children are able to leave the field, to find outside the home persons and institutions - such as teachers and schools - which provide positive and consistent messages.

To carry through the double-bind analogy, Negro children receive directly conflicting messages from American society at large. On the one hand, they are "told" that everyone in America with talent and ambition who works hard can be successful; indeed, the mass media make it clear that people who are not successful must not "have what it takes" by definition. Yet, more subtly, Negroes also receive communications which convey the society's resistance to their attaining success. The resulting approach-avoidance conflict has two horns. If they strive in the fashion prescribed by the first, "work hard" message, they may bluntly be "told" that they are too

pushy and do not know their place. And if they obey the second, "know your place" message, they may be "told" that this shiftlessness is final proof of their innate racial inferiority. In short, they are the victims of a racial double-bind.

Predominantly Negro schools, as part of their implicit curriculum, typically teach the "know your place" message. This contribution to the racial double-bind is made by the very fact that racial separation is necessary to form unbalanced schools in the first place. This stark fact covertly instructs the child that he is different, that he is devalued by American society, that he is deemed worthy only of education in schools where other lowly children like himself predominate. There is no guarantee, of course, that balanced schools will not also implicitly teach Negroes the same destructive lesson. The point is, however, that the unbalanced school situation is structurally self-defeating; even the most dedicated teachers will encounter severe difficulties in attempting to overcome its effects. The balanced school at least has the opportunity to counteract in part the double-binding communications of the larger community, to offer the Negro child an opportunity to leave the field at critical

times through his psychological development.

CREATIVITY

Too often educational debates revolve around I.Q. and achievement scores, without full consideration of the higher cognitive processes. Controversy over the education of Negro children is no exception. Consequently, it seems worthwhile to briefly consider creativity, survey the principal research findings concerning this elusive property, and compare these findings with the typical situations most Negro children find themselves in today.

Creativity is apparently maximized when:

(1) The individual is "open to experience." Combining the works of several authorities, this would include: (a) openness to inner experience, to emotions, to unconscious processes (i.e., fantasy);[22] (b) openness to the external environment and objectification (i.e., seeing an object or thing as it is rather than as one's defensive structure needs it to be).[23] Creativity, then is definitely not synonymous with intelligence.[24]

(2) The individual (a) accepts the non-rational components of himself,[25] (b) has a basic trust in himself,[26]

(c) believes that he will not be overtaken by his impulses,[27] and (d) enjoys a history of experience in which curiosity and spontaneity are rewarded rather than punished.[28]

(3) The individual has a stable sense of identity, a notion of "himself" as a distinct, goal-directed human being.[29] This distinctness often involves a sense of being individually "different" and an acceptance of this difference.

(4) The individual has some degree of insight into psychic stress, for art and science cannot be pursued for their own sake if other emotional needs predominate.[31]

(5) The individual has the ability and is encouraged to tolerate ambiguity and deal with complexity.[32] This apparently involves not only the ability to see an object in all its dimensions, but also an urge to order and synthesize it - although not to simplify it - in order to understand it.

To translate these individual traits into social conditions, then, the creativity-stimulating social situation is one where curiosity, spontaneity, originality, and preference for complexities are encouraged, where acceptance of self as a

distinct, worthwhile individual is firmly developed, and where submissiveness to authority is discouraged.[33] The structuring of such an optimal situation is obviously not an easy task. To be sure, relatively few of America's classrooms for either white or Negro pupils probably attain these characteristics. Yet there are a number of reasons for believing that the racially-unbalanced school situation presents unusually serious barriers to the establishment of these creativity-stimulating conditions.

One of the recurrent findings of both the psychiatric and social psychological literature on Negro American personality is the great reliance upon denial and repression of racial concerns among many Negroes.[34] Much of this tendency may stem from the need to repress aggression against whites for fear of massive retaliation. In any event, this often documented "mark of oppression" certainly acts to constrict and stifle the "openness to experience" requisite for creativity. Repression and denial are the polar opposites of such creative traits as curiosity, spontaneity, self-insight, and acceptance of one's non-rational components. The "creative classroom" for Negro students, then, must handle this problem effectively. Clearly, an imbalanced

school cannot even begin; for how can Negro children successfully work through their racial animosities without the presence of substantial numbers of whites? Much the same question in reverse can be posed for white children in all-white schools. Once again, however, the balanced school is no guarantee that this problem will be overcome; indeed, clumsy handling or the refusal to deal directly with the race issue in an integrated classroom can easily result in increased difficulty. But at least the balanced school presents the opportunity for achieving a solution to this major barrier to creativity.

Further issues are raised by the creativity criteria of a stable identity and a sense and acceptance of being "different." Earlier, we noted Erikson's suggestion that Negro children sometimes invoke negative judgments from society just to secure a stable, if negative, identity. Such a mechanism will probably not lead to the type of positive acceptance of self as "different" routinely found among creative people. In the next section, we shall discuss the advantages and disadvantages of racially-balanced education in this process. At this point, it suffices to say once more that only the racially-balanced school would appear to provide

the climate necessary for the Negro child both to differentiate himself as racially distinct from the majority of other Americans and to accept this as a positive fact of life. One of the nine Negro adolescents who desegregated Little Rock's Central High School in 1957 put the matter bluntly. When asked what new insights she had acquired from her experience in a desegregated school, she replied: "Now I know there're some stupid white kids, too'."

Finally, imbalanced schools, by their very structure, are not equipped to meet the remaining creativity criteria. Racial separation itself is a symbol of withdrawal, of avoidance of racial complexities, and of submission to white authorities - whether educational, political, or real estate. It is difficult to imagine, then, how such institutions could encourage the very processes which they symbolically deny.

To summarize, the issue of racially-balanced schools should not be dealt with wholly in terms of mere I.Q. and achievement test scores. Higher order processes are also crucial; and a brief review of the research findings on creativity strongly suggest that racially-imbalanced classrooms are not likely to provide the conditions which foster such processes.

PERSONALITY DYNAMICS[35]

"To separate /Negro children/ from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone." So wrote Chief Justice Earl Warren in his 1954 public school desegregation opinion.

He made this historic statement, of course, in reference to legally segregated schools. Yet, psychologically-speaking, the distinction between de jure and de facto segregation is largely lost on young Negro children who attend all-Negro schools in the South and urban North. This is not to say that there are not contrasting personality consequences of growing up in the two systems; numerous studies of adolescents and adults have shown greater personality damage among Negro Southerners than Negro Northerners.[36] But it is to say that an all-Negro school has much the same meaning to a pre-adolescent, regardless of the reason for his separation from white children.

The principal issue here concerns the adoption of the "Negro" role of socially-defined inferior. (See Appendix C.) Like all human interaction, discriminatory encounters between

white and Negroes require that both parties "play the game." Whites often act out the role of the "superior"; by direct action or subtle cue, they convey the expectation that they will be treated with deference. For their part, Negroes, if racist norms are to be obeyed, act out the role of the "inferior"; they play the social role of "Negro."

This socially-stigmatized role of "Negro" is the critical feature of having dark skin in the United States. "It is part of the price the Negro pays for his position in this society," comments James Baldwin, "that . . . he is almost always acting."[37] At the personality level, such enforced role adoption further divided the individual Negro both from other human beings and from himself. Of course, all social roles, necessary as they are, hinder to some extent forthright, uninhibited social interaction. An employer and employee, for example, may never begin to understand each other as rounded human beings unless they break through the formality and constraints of their role relationship, unless they "let their hair down." Likewise, whites and Negroes can never communicate as equals unless they break through the racial role barriers. As long as racial roles are maintained, both parties find it difficult to perceive the

humanity behind the facade. Many whites who are by no means racists confuse the role of "Negro" with the people who must play this role. "Negroes are just like that," goes the phrase; "they are simply born happy-go-lucky and lazy." Conversely, many Negroes confuse the role of "white man" with whites: "Whites are just like that; they are born thinking they should always be boss."

Intimately associated with this impairment of human relatedness is an impairment of the individual's acceptance and understanding of himself. Both whites and Negroes can easily mistake their own roles as being an essential part of themselves. Whites can flatter themselves into the conviction that they are in fact "superior"; after all, does not the deferential behavior of the role-playing Negro confirm this "superiority"? And Negroes in turn often accept much of the racists' mythology; for does not the imperious behavior of the role-playing white confirm this "inferiority"? Racial roles, then, are important for understanding how racial patterns shape personality. Individuals grow into roles, and are shaped and molded by the behavior these roles require.

These are not mere speculations of existentialist philosophy. A large body of psychological research convincingly

demonstrates the power of role-playing to change deeply-held attitudes, values, and even conceptions of self.[38] Moreover, these remarkable changes have been rendered by temporary role adoptions of an exceedingly trivial nature when compared to the life-long role of "Negro." Imagine, then, the depth of the effects of having to play a role which has such vast personal and social significance that it influences virtually all aspects of daily living.

One instance of the operation of the "Negro" role in the school setting occurs in the intelligence testing situation. (See Appendix B.) Put simply, the Negro is not expected to be bright. To reveal high intelligence is to risk appearing "uppity," to step out of the "Negro" role. But the self-fulfilling prophecy may occur, for the Negro child who assumes a facade of stupidity as a defense mechanism is very likely togrow into the role. He will not be eager to learn, and he will not strive to do well in the testing situation. After all, an intelligence test is a middle-class white man's instrument; it is a device whites use to prove their capacities and get ahead in the white world. Achieving a high test score does not have the same meaning for a lower-status Negro child, and it may even carry a definite connotation of personal threat.

In addition to stupidity, the role of "Negro" prescribes both passivity and lack of ambition as central traits. And these traits are crucial personality correlates of I.Q. changes in white children. The Fels Research Institute found that aggressiveness and intense need for achievement differentiate those children whose scores rise between six and ten years of age from those whose scores recede.[39]

Another protective device and component of the "Negro" role is slowness. This trait assumes major importance in the speed instruments typically employed to estimate intelligence. In the Negro lower class there is no premium on speed, for work is generally paid by the hour and there are realistically few goals that fast, hard endeavor can attain. One experiment noted that differences in speed of response between two samples were primarily responsible for racial differences in I.Q. estimated by timed performance tests.[40]

Playing "Negro" is made especially critical when the examiner is white. Even two-year-old Negroes seem verbally inhibited when tested by a white.[41] In fact, this verbal inhibition may be the principal factor underlying the common observation that Negro children generally evidence verbal comprehension far superior to their verbal communication.[42]

One investigation had students of both races tested alternately by Negro and white examiners.[43] For both groups, the mean I.Q. was approximately six points higher when the test was administered by an examiner of their own race.

Adult Negroes evidence a similar reaction. A public opinion poll in North Carolina asked Negro respondents for the names of the men who had just run for governor in a primary election.[44] Three out of five Negroes questioned by Negro interviewers knew at least two correct names and gave no incorrect names, compared with only two out of five of a similar sample questioned by whites. A Boston survey replicated these results with two measures tapping intelligence.[45] The first consisted of six informational items; each respondent was asked to identify six famous men: two Africans (Kwame Nkrumah and Haile Selassie) and four Negro Americans (Louis Armstrong, Martin Luther King, Adam Clayton Powell, and Elijah Muhammed). The other test required synonyms for ten words, ranging in difficulty from "space" to "emanate". Negro interviewers questioned half of the respondents, white interviewers the other half; and the two half-samples were equivalent in income, age, education, and region of birth. On both tests the Boston Negro adults rendered more correct answers when interviewed by a Negro.

Personality considerations of identity and self-esteem for the Negro child, then, revolve largely around the opportunity and encouragement he receives to reject flatly the "Negro" role of passivity, stupidity, and slowness. He must be rewarded and practiced in the counter-role of "equal citizen," a new role conception in which, incidentally, many white children also need training. Predominantly Negro schools are ill-equipped to rise effectively to this challenge. And balanced schools may also fail to meet this challenge; but they do possess the prerequisite structure for imparting this lesson.

The complexity of these psychological processes is underscored in an important series of experiments conducted by Irwin Katz at New York University.[46] Katz believes available experimental evidence points to a variety of both unfavorable and favorable influences on Negro performance in the biracial situation. On the negative side of the ledger, he lists lowered probability of success, social threat, and failure threat. Where there is marked discrepancy in the educational standards of Negro and white schools, or where Negro children have already acquired strong feelings of inferiority, minority group arrivals to integrated classes are likely to have a low expectancy of academic success. This expectancy is often realistic, given

the situation, but it has the effect of lowering achievement motivation. Social threat is involved in any integrated situation for Negroes; given the prestige and dominance of whites in American society, rejection of Negro students by white classmates or teachers often elicits emotional responses that are detrimental to intellectual functioning. Failure threat arises when academic failure means disapproval by significant others - parents, teachers, perhaps even peers at school. Low expectancy of success under failure threat may also result in eliciting emotional responses detrimental to performance.

On the positive side of the ledger, Katz notes that acceptance of Negroes by white classmates and adults has a social facilitation effect upon their ability to learn, apparently because it reassures the Negro child that he is fully expected to be as talented and important in the classroom as anyone else. This anticipation, that skillful performance will win white approval, rather than the usual rejection for not "knowing his place," endows scholastic success with high incentive value.

The desegregated learning situation, then, has the potentiality of lowering or raising Negro performance, depending importantly on the social context of threat or

acceptance that is achieved. Indeed, the picture is even more complex than this, as demonstrated by the result of Katz's ingenious studies:

> "Experiments on Negro male college students . . . have shown that in work teams composed of Negro and white students of similar intellectual ability, Negroes are passively compliant, rate their own performance as inferior even when it is not, and express less satisfaction with the team experience than do their white companions. These results are seen as due to social threat and/or failure threat.
> . . Forcing Negro subjects into attempts to influence nonhostile white partners in problem solving has the effect of increasing their influence over the same white partner on another task, apparently mainly through reduction of their fear of instigating hostility. Experimentally creating a verbal task situation that was low in both social threat and failure threat resulted in better performance by Negroes in the presence of whites than in the presence of other Negroes, suggesting that the incentive value of success was greater in the white environment. But when threat of strong electric shock was introduced, the white setting became less favorable to performance than the Negro one. Thus vulnerability to stress was greater in the white condition, even though it was not apparent until a strong explicit threat was introduced. The evaluative significance of a verbal task (i.e., whether it was described as a perceptual motor test or an intellectual test) interacted with the race of the tester in determining Negro performance, in a manner consistent with the notions that (a) the incentive value of success was higher with a white tester than with a Negro tester, and (b) the probability of success was lower with a white tester than with a Negro tester only when the task was defined intellectually. Anticipated intellectual comparison with Negro peers was found to produce a higher level of verbal performance than anticipated comparison with white peers, in accordance with the assumption that the subjective probability

> of success was lower when the expected comparison was with whites. Also, performance was facilitated when a white tester raised the subject's expectancy of attaining a white standard of performance by giving him suitable 'information' about his score on a previous trial. Finally, suppression of hostile impulses appeared to occur in Negro students who were tested by a white adult, but not in those who were tested by a Negro adult."[47]

Katz's experimental findings provide a useful framework with which to evaluate what little field data exist on balanced schools. Gerald Lesser and his associates recently completed a major study of Chinese, Jewish, Negro, and Puerto Rican children in New York City's public schools.[48] One of their interesting findings complicates the interpretation of their data for purposes of this paper: the children from each of the tested groups who were in ethnically-balanced schools were typically of higher social class backgrounds than those children from the same groups in imbalanced schools. Thus, the effects of social class and ethnic balance are confounded in their results - a fact of importance not only for New York's schools, but also for the design of future research on racially-balanced schools.

Nevertheless, it is important to note that Lesser found that children in balanced schools outperformed children in imbalanced schools in all four ethnic groups on all four tests of

basic abilities - reasoning, verbal ability, numerical ability, and space conceptualization. Moreover, the difference was largest for all four abilities between Negroes in balanced and unbalanced schools. In other words, the combined factors of social class and group composition of the school were more direct correlates of the Negro test scores than for the scores of the Chinese, Jewish, and Puerto Rican pupils. Not all of these sharp differences can be accounted for in social class terms alone; the discrepancies are due, at least in part, to the schools' group compositions. Indeed, the two variables are by no means analytically separable, for both are functions to some extent of many of the same factors (e.g., type and location of housing).

Nancy St. John employed another approach in her study of public education in a middle-sized New England city.[49] At the time of her study in 1961, Negroes comprised approximately one-sixth of the student body in each of this city's two comprehensive high schools, but three-fourths or more of two elementary schools and one junior high. St. John's sample of 235 youngsters included all of the Negroes in the junior year in the two high schools plus all Negroes who would have been juniors but who had dropped out since entering high

school. She sought to isolate differences in aspirations, test performance, academic and extra-curricular behavior, and sociometric choices between three sets of these children: those who had previously attended elementary schools consisting of from 1% to 39% Negroes ("low ratio"); those from 40% to 69% Negro elementary schools ("medium ratio"); and those from 70% to 100% Negro elementary schools ("high ratio"). Again tight social class controls were not possible, though the confounding was not as sharp as in Lesser's data.

Four statistically significant distinctions emerged. (1) Verbal test scores were highest for children from the low ratio schools, and lowest for children from the high ratio schools. (2) Students trained in medium ratio institutions most often participated in high school extra-curricular activities, students' trained in high ratio institutions least often participated. (3) And those Negroes from low and medium ratio elementary schools were almost twice as likely to be sociometrically chosen by white classmates as Negroes from high ratio schools. (4) But faithful school attendance proved best among children from the high ratio elementary schools, worst among those from low ratio elementary schools.

Other statistically non-significant trends in St. John's

data are also of interest. Otis I.Q.'s and reading levels were highest among the children from low ratio schools, lowest among those from high ratio schools. Yet average high school grades were just the reverse, with high ratio children doing best.[50] Drop-outs were concentrated among the high ratio-trained Negroes. Low ratio-trained Negroes chose whites sociometrically more often than other Negroes. And, finally, high educational aspirations (post-high school training) and high occupational aspirations (professional and managerial) were most lacking among those children from the high ratio elementary schools. Interestingly, racially-balanced elementary schools proved most vital in shaping the high educational aspirations among the most deprived of all Negro students - children from the lowest social class, from broken homes, and from migrant families out of the South.

St. John's data are the most straightforward on racially-balanced education currently available, though there are serious limitations. In addition to problems of control, her sample is small and comes from a city with a relatively small ghetto and low degree of de facto school segregation. Nonetheless, her findings tend to support many of the contentions of this paper while further underlining Katz's conclusions

concerning the complexity of the process.

Critics of balanced schools, however, raise further issues. Consider the paper by Clairette P. Armstrong and A.J. Gregor.[51] Their argument runs essentially as follows: Negro personality especially as dramatized by Negro psychotics, is often marked by color denial and orientation toward "the white culture." Moreover, Negroes in a radically-insulated environment tend to be less characterized by these symptoms. The Clarks' doll preference data and Goodman's interracial kindergarten data are cited as supportive evidence.[52] Consequently, argue the writers, an all-Negro institution "seems to produce far less intrapsychic tension than the concrete fact that he must, in integrated situations, adjust to membership in a group where he is accorded inferior status because of distinctive social visibility."[53]

Armstrong and Gregor believe that biracial schools encourage further orientation toward "the white culture" and hence induce "psychological hazards" because integrated schools: (1) emphasize white esthetic norms and negative stereotypes of the Negro; (2) do not provide needed Negro authority figures; (3) highlight the Negro's performance deficiencies and (4) lead to Negroes suffering from rejection by white children. Thus,

they conclude: "Biracial school experience during a critical developmental period may well play a significant part in the shaping of certain defensive patterns in Negro personality development."[54] In short, the argument in simplest terms insists that Negroes are more comfortable in their "insulated" all-Negro schools, and that they are neither happy nor healthy in biracial schools.

This argument, of course, is hardly new. Slavery was defended over a century ago in similar terms; Negroes were happiest in bondage, went the claim, and simply would not be able to cope with freedom. But the Armstrong-Gregor paper is still worthy of careful attention, because it is representative of a suddenly-acquired concern for the Negro which many critics of racial integration are presently expressing.

Color denial and other color symptomatology <u>are</u> prevalent among Negro Americans; given their history of slavery and segregation in America, it would be amazing if this were not true. Yet Armstrong and Gregor recommend as the remedy for these problems still further segregation. It is also a fact, as noted earlier, that Negro Americans are strongly identified with and immersed in the Caucasian-dominated <u>American</u> culture (there is no such thing as a separate "white culture" in the

United States). The next chain in the logic, however, is more questionable. It is by no means clear that profound psychological problems in childhood are lessened for Negroes by an all-Negro environment. The authors selectively cite Goodman's data from an interracial nursery in the North. But in all fairness, they should have also cited Morland's data from tightly segregated nurseries in the South - which showed precisely the same personality damage among Negro children.[55] Especially relevant for this New York State Conference are recent data compiled by Judith Porter on pre-school children in Ithaca.[56] In this city Negroes only comprise approximately three per cent of the total population, yet she replicated the principal findings of previous studies in both the racial identifications and preferences of Negro and white children. More importantly, Porter tested children from all-Negro, all-white, and integrated nurseries, and found no statistically significant differences between the responses of Negroes in the segregated and integrated situations.

Much of the controversy concerning doll studies centers around the Clarks' work, because this investigation was prominently mentioned in the famous footnote 11 of the 1954 school desegregation opinion. Armstrong and Gregor correctly

note that the Clarks obtained a significant difference between Negro children from integrated schools in the North and segregated schools in the South in response to the command, "Give me the doll which looks bad." The northern children significantly more often chose the Negro doll rather than the white doll. Responses to seven other questions by the Clarks did not reveal significant regional differences, however, though Armstrong and Gregor do not mention this fact.[57] Nevertheless, other work by the Clarks also points to the more open disparagement of Negroes by Northern Negro children.[58] Armstrong and Gregor regard this as evidence against biracial schools. Clark presents another interpretation:

> "On the surface these findings might suggest that Northern Negro children suffer more personality damage from racial prejudice and discrimination' than Southern Negro children. However, this interpretation would seem to be not only superficial but incorrect. The apparent emotional stability of the Southern Negro child may be indicative only of the fact that through rigid racial segregation and isolation he has accepted as normal the fact of his inferior social status. Such an acceptance is not symptomatic of a healthy personality. The emotional turmoil revealed by some of the Northern children may be interpreted as an attempt on their part to assert some positive aspect of the self."[59]

The four arguments proposed by Armstrong and Gregor in support of their contention that biracial schools are psychologically too dangerous for Negro children are indeed curious.

They assume that all biracial schools in the United States must necessarily, by their very structure, value "whiteness" and degrade the Negro, be devoid of a substantial number of Negro teachers and other authority figures, witness poor Negro performance, and involve rejection of Negroes by white children. That all of these negative characteristics do in fact characterize some integrated schools in America is not to be disputed. That all of these negative characteristics necessarily must and do in fact characterize all integrated schools in America is absurd on face. Their listing is valuable, however, for it points to the psychologically important features balanced schools must strive hard to avoid. Interestingly, this listing is quite similar to those mentioned earlier by Irwin Katz, though Armstrong and Gregor fail to add the positive features of balanced schools revealed by Katz's work.

The idea that cultural "insulation," deep within the ghetto, is where the Negro is happiest and healthiest also requires brief examination. Many groups - Indian-Americans, Chinese-Americans, and Japanese-Americans - have until recently remained as groups relatively insulated from the mainstream of American life. During this period of insulation, these same groups maintained low rates of social disorganization - such as crime.

But today they are in varying degrees entering the mainstream, and during this transitional period such indices as crime rates are typically elevated.[60] These groups, then, partly fit the Armstrong-Gregor thinking; but note the sharp contrast between them and Negro Americans. Indians, Chinese, and Japanese all had proud cultures of their own, which were for a long time reasonably well-maintained in modern America. Negroes in America were never so fortunate. Though possessing proud cultures of their own, African slaves brought to North America were systematically stripped of their cultural heritage - the Gullahs of South Carolina furnishing an illuminating exception. Negroes have therefore never been in the position of the culturally insulated Indians, Chinese, or Japanese in America, and arguments about the beneficial features of such insulation for them are neither realistic nor relevant. As Armstrong and Gregor themselves point out, Negroes are hopelessly identified with American culture, a fact which translates separation into oppression rather than comfort.

The issue of "intrapsychic tension" raised by the two authors is a particularly important one. As Katz points out, Negroes in biracial situations probably <u>are</u> frequently more comfortable than in uniracial situations. Armstrong and Gregor could have cited a

study by R.W. Pugh which in part supports their thesis concerning "intrapsychic tension."[61] Pugh found that students in an all-Negro school were better adjusted to school life than Negro students in an interracial school, though the two groups did not differ in "race pride." But the segregated youngsters were less satisfied with their school administrators and teachers. Recent work in Michigan schools confirms this tension in some integrated classrooms.[62] Another study of a desegregated summer camp also noted tension and keen sensitivity among Negro children, much of which centered around fears of rejection by the white campers.[63] Two weeks of successful integration, however, achieved a sharp decline in this initial Negro sensitivity.

A social cost analysis is needed. The question becomes: What price comfort? Naturally, Negro children will often be reluctant to enter into a biracial situation, will often be tense and anxious over rejection by whites. The situation is directly analogous to the avoidance learning situation in the psychological laboratory. When a subject's forefinger is repeatedly shocked immediately after a bell sounds, for instance, he soon learns to avoid the painful shock by lifting his finger as soon as he hears the bell. In other words, the subject is conditioned in

the classic Pavlovian paradigm. But consider what happens when the electric shock is no longer applied. How can the subject acquire knowledge of the change? As long as he withdraws his finger at the bell, he can never discover that the bell is no longer associated with a shock. This is the critical feature of avoidance learning. Negroes have learned to withdraw from interracial situations where in the past they have frequently experienced pain and indignity. And even though these situations change and the pain and indignity are removed, most Negroes are naturally reluctant to test them and discover the alterations. Avoidance learning, then, is self-perpetuating. But once again the advantages of introducing Negro children to racially-balanced classrooms from the first day of kindergarten are underlined.

What price comfort? Armstrong and Gregor may be right, then, in so much as many Negro children are less comfortable in biracial classrooms, at least initially. But will those children from all-Negro schools be more comfortable when they reach young adulthood and find themselves totally unequipped to compete in an interracial world? Lobotomized patients are often more comfortable, too, but they are impaired for life.

The point is dramatically demonstrated by data from Louisville,

Kentucky supplied by the United States Civil Rights Commission. Louisville has six high schools, all of which have at least a few Negroes, and an open choice system of enrollment. One of the high schools, Central, was the school designated for Negroes before Louisville's educational desegregation and remains virtually all Negro. The Commission checked on whether the racial ratios of the junior high schools were related to the selection by Negroes of de facto segregated Central High. The results are as follows:[64]

Name of Louisville Junior High	Negro Percentage in the Jr. High	Percentage of Negroes Choosing Virtually All-Negro Central High (as of May 29, 1962)
Gottschalk	0.7	0.0
Highland	1.2	0.0
Barrett	4.1	35.4
Western	8.5	21.8
Eastern	15.2	29.4
Du Pont Manual	16.5	16.5
Shawnee	23.7	4.7
Parkland	25.3	33.1
Manly	31.2	42.3
DuValle	99.0	70.9
Jackson	100.0	65.9

The relationship is obviously very close; the Spearman Rank Order Correlation, corrected for ties, is +.82, statistically significant at better than the one per cent level of confidence. The fears of Armstrong and Gregor concerning biracial education are not substantiated, for it seems unlikely that Negro students who have endured debilitating "intrapsychic tension" in an integrated junior high school would willingly submit themselves to such hardship in an integrated high school. The Commission sums it up tersely; "The inference is strong that Negro high school students prefer biracial education only if they have experienced it before. If a Negro student has not received his formative education in biracial schools, the chances are he will not choose to enter one in his more mature school years."[65]

ADDITIONAL CONSIDERATIONS

All of these social psychological considerations point to the necessity for racially-balanced education from the very beginning of the formal educational process. It is precisely this requirement, however, which complicates the implementation of school system plans for achieving racial balance. As the New England and Louisville data reveal, the racial ratio is of critical importance at the elementary and junior high grade levels. Yet it is these levels which are the most difficult to

balance, not only because of geographical factors, but also because it is at these levels the neighborhood school concept receives its strongest support. But once again a social cost analysis is required. Which is the more important - proximity or balance? Until recently, the neighborhood school was revered by many as a hallowed institution beyond question of inestimable value. But is it really? Intensive and imaginative research is obviously called for plus a complete reevaluation of the problem by educators. Perhaps, the consolidated school deserves serious consideration for even the elementary grades.

In the midst of such complications, one anguished plea many educators understandably voice is: Why the schools? Virtually all other realms of American life are as separate, or even more separate, racially than the schools - housing, work situations, and especially the churches. Indeed, housing segregation is a major contributor to the problem of balancing schools. Why, then, are the schools singled out for such special and controversial attention? Some of the reasons for this have been outlined previously: Negro Americans as a group greatly respect the institution of public education; and their hopes for the future particularly center upon their children and the education their children receive. (See Appendix A). After all, education is the

only societal institution totally dedicated to preparing for the future. Moreover, the central significance of education makes it a critical prerequisite for other needed racial changes - upgraded jobs, higher incomes, better and more dispersed housing, etc. This positive circle of progress has to be initiated by the Negro somewhere; too long each realm has pointed to another realm as the guilty party which should change first.[66] It is, then, in full recognition of the special importance of public education that this realm has become an early target in the current Negro revolution.

The concentration on racial balance should not, however, blind us to the involved problems of educational excellence and remedial training. Racial balance appears to be a necessary, but hardly sufficient, condition for superior education. Many Negroes, as well as many whites, need massive remedial instruction; but remedial instruction in de facto segregated schools clearly does not go to the roots of the problems which helped to create the need for remedial work in the first place. Balance is an essential ingredient, then, but only a first step.

Another issue involves the precise definition of a "racially-balanced" school. Is it a school with 30% Negroes, 50% Negroes, or 70% Negroes? This practical question of definition is actually less thorny than it first appears. Hopefully, arbitrary percentages

will someday be unnecessary considerations; for the real objective for the future obviously involves schools where the exact racial ratio will be irrelevant and a matter of indifference to all. But until this goal is reached, a contrived strategy is required. And at least from a social psychological viewpoint, a percentage of Negro students ranging from approximately 20% to 45% would appear an optimal transitional definition for "balance." This is the range that has proven effective in interracial housing developments, both public and private. The reasons for this are numerous. At one end, a figure less than the minimum 20% - as in the typical token pattern of desegregation - isolates the Negro students, tends to make them appear conspicuous, and offers bigots the hope of eventually excluding them altogether. At the other end, a Negro majority enhances the recurrent white fear of being "swamped," placing whites in a minority position to which they are not accustomed. Gallup Poll data collected during June of 1963 bear out this contention on the part of white adults:[67]

> "Would you, yourself, have any objection to sending your children to a school where a few of the children are colored?"

	North	South
Yes, would object	10%	61%
No, would not object	87%	38%
No opinion	3%	1%

"Would you have any objection to sending your children to a school where half of the children are colored?"

	North	South
Yes, would object	33%	78%
No, would not object	56%	17%
No opinion	11%	5%

"Would you have any objection to sending your children to a school where more than half of the children are colored?"

	North	South
Yes, would object	53%	86%
No, would not object	31%	6%
No opinion	16%	8%

There are additional advantages to having white majorities during the initial phase of balancing schools. It acts to assure the Negro students that they are attending a truly interracial school, rather than a school with a relatively small percentage of whites that has passed "the tipping point" and may soon become virtually all Negro. The white majority also insures political leverage and the sympathetic attention of

white school officials and community leaders. And, finally, this racial ratio of 20% to 45% approximates the percentages both the Negro and white students will later encounter in many work situations.[58]

A PROPOSED DESIGN FOR BALANCED SCHOOL RESEARCH

The definitive research needed today on the racial balancing of schools requires not only competent investigators but substantial financial support and the full cooperation of a large urban school system. The outlines for such research can be readily sketched. The necessary design must allow for natural development changes in the children studied, the critical role of social class, and the "Hawthorne" effect so common to studies of educational innovations. The ideal design to handle these complications would involve extensive controls, longitudinal testing and double-bind experimentation. More specifically, Solomon's expanded before-and-after design with three types of controls affords the basic framework.[69] The three experimental groups, differing only in social class composition, would be as follows:

	Experimental Groups (or Schools)		
	1A	1B	1C
Social Class Composition	Predominantly Working-Class	Both Working and Middle Class	Predominantly Middle-class
"Before" Measurements (Intelligence, aspirations, etc.)	Yes (Y1)	Yes (Y1)	Yes (Y1)
Exposure to experimental variable (racial balance - 20 to 45% Negroes)	Yes	Yes	Yes
Exposure to Uncontrolled and developmental events	Yes	Yes	Yes
"After" Measurement	Yes (Y2)	Yes (Y2)	Yes (Y2)
Change	c = Y2 - Y1	c = Y2 - Y1	c = Y2 - Y1

The first type of control groups would have to be as identical to the experimental groups as possible in make-up and treatment, except for the fact that racial imbalance would prevail. Again varying only by social class composition, the three groups for this type of control would be as follows:

	Control Groups (or Schools) #2		
	2A	2B	2C
Social Class Composition	Predominantly Working-class	Both Working and Middle-Class	Predominantly Middle-Class
"Before" Measurements	Yes (Y'1)	Yes (Y'1)	Yes (Y'1)
Exposure to Experimental Variable (in this case imbalance could mean 90% Negroes)	No	No	No
Exposure to Uncontrolled and Developmental Events	Yes	Yes	Yes

This type of control would contrast the racially-balanced school with overwhelmingly Negro schools; but three further control groups following this same pattern could test the effects of tokenism by having imbalanced situations of 90% of more white students. This initial control detects the change brought about by a combination of the administration of the "before" measures and the uncontrolled and developmental events.

A second type of control detects the change due to the experimental variable (i.e., the racial composition of the school) and the uncontrolled and developmental events.

	Control Groups (or Schools) #3		
	3A	3B	3C
Social Class Composition	Predominantly Working-class	Both Working- and Middle-class	Predominantly Middle-class
"Before" Measurements	No $Y'1 = \frac{Y' - Y'1}{2}$	No $Y''1 = \frac{Y1 - Y'1}{2}$	No $Y''1 = \frac{Y1 - Y'1}{2}$
Exposure to Experimental Veriable (Racial Balance - 20 to 45% Negroes)	Yes	Yes	Yes
Exposure to Uncontrolled and Developmental Events	Yes	Yes	Yes
"After" Measurement	Yes (Y"2)	Yes (Y"2)	Yes (Y"2)
Change	$c = Y''2 - Y''1$	$c = Y''2 - Y''1$	$c = Y''2 -$

Finally, a third set of control groups detects the change which can be contributed solely to the uncontrolled and developmental events which take place between the "before" and "after" measurements. These groups are as follows:

	Control Groups (or Schools) #4		
Social Class Composition	Predominantly Working-class	Both Working- and Middle-class	Predominantly Middle-Class
"Before" Measurements	No $Y'' = \frac{Y1 - Y'1}{2}$	No $Y''' = \frac{Y1 - Y'1}{2}$	No $Y''' = \frac{Y1 - Y'1}{2}$
Exposure to Experimental Variable (in this case imbalance could mean 90% - Negroes)	No	No	No
Exposure to Uncontrolled and Developmental Events	Yes	Yes	Yes
"After" Measurement	Yes (Y''2)	Yes (Y''2)	Yes (Y''2)
Change	$c = Y''2 - Y''1$	$c = Y''2 - Y''1$	$c = Y''2 - Y''1$

This twelve group design would be both expensive and time-consuming to carry out. But such a design has a number of distinct advantages not achieveable in less elaborate research. In the first place, the many control groups provide numerous replications. Thus, the last two types of control groups differ

only in exposure to the key experimental variable; they provide, then, a replication of the basic finding developed by contrasting the first type of control groups with the experimental groups. Furthermore, replications are provided within each of the three types of social class schools. Of special interest here are the answers to such questions as: Are racially-balanced schools more needed by working-class children, middle-class children, or both? And does racial balance have special effects in schools which achieve some degree of social class balance as well?

Two other features of an ideal research design are longitudinal testing and double-blind experimentation. The first of these simply refers to the need to sample the "after" measures in the above diagrams at varying times in the developmental cycle. Though this increases the complexity of the design shown previously, it is necessary if developmental questions are to be answered. Does racial imbalance have its greatest effects during the elementary years? Or is it a cumulative effect? Only longitudinal testing can supply the answers.

Double-blind experimentation in this instance means that the teachers and researchers who directly come in contact with the children in the schools are not anymore aware than the

children as to whether they are the experimental group, the group that is 'supposed to do better." The problem here is the widely-known Hawthorne effect, where experimental groups which receive special attention improve not so much as a function of the experimental variable as of the special attention.[71] Most educational innovations, for instance, generally appear at first to be beneficial, because the research used to test them does not often take this factor into account. In critical research on racial balance, then, it is imperative that the Hawthorne effect not contaminate the data. Safeguards should include double-bind conditions coupled with equal attention and an equal aura of experimentation in each of the twelve schools.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

"What's racial balance got to do with education?" Apart from the historical, political, legal, and moral answers, there are a variety of social psychological answers to the school committee member's blunt query. This paper has briefly discussed these considerations in terms of human learning, communication, creativity, and personality dynamics.

Students need to be taught in environments similar to those in which they will later be required to perform. This is a direct imperative of a basic principle of human learning: alteration of salient environmental features associated with original learning results in diminished retention and performance. Since Negroes must perform well in interracial work situations if they are to be occupationally upgraded in the future, it follows that they should be educated in schools which provide interracial learning situations.

A communications analogy with schizophrenic theory highlights the importance of the role schools can play in countering the racist messages still lingering in the larger society - countering not only explicitly in formal instruction, but implicitly in the biracial composition of students, teachers, and administrators. On the one hand, the Negro child hears the

"work hard" message: Any American with talent and ambition who works hard can be successful, thus anyone who is not successful must not "have what it takes." On the other hand, the Negro child also hears the "know your place" message: any Negro who openly strives to get ahead of white people is too uppity and obviously doesn't know his place. Like the potentially-schizophrenic child whose mother tells him she loves him but acts as if she does not, the Negro child finds himself the victim of a double-bind. But many potentially-schizophrenic children in the double-bind never become schizophrenic, in part because they are able "to leave the field," to find consistent guidance and reassurance outside of the home in such places as the school. Likewise, Negro children need "to leave the field," need to find the type of consistent guidance and reassurance only a racially-balanced school can provide.

Too frequently the balanced-school and other educational controversies focus myopically upon I.Q. and achievement test scores, without full consideration of such higher mental processes as creativity. A brief review of the principal research findings on creativity reveals a series of personal characteristics which must be encouraged and developed: openness to experience," recognition and acceptance of personal differences, desire for complexity, personal insight, and an

of these traits would be difficult for a segregated school to foster, since by its very structure it is a societal symbol of the restriction of experience, the rejection of individuals because of racial differences, the desire for simplicity, the refusal to probe psychologically, and the total submission to authority.

From the perspective of personality dynamics, racially-balanced schools include aspects which are both detrimental and facilitating to Negro performance. These ideas are based on considerable experimental laboratory data, but field evidence directly from the classroom is scarce. One field study in New York City and another in a middle-sized New England city support these laboratory conclusions in general. These two investigations also suggest that the facilitating effects easily outweigh the detrimental influences of biracial situations in effective balanced schools.

Segregationist critics raise the additional issue of psychological comfort. Speaking confidently for Negroes as usual, these critics emphasize only the detrimental forces potentially operating in biracial situations and claim Negroes are happier, healthier, and more comfortable in all-Negro settings. To be sure, there is evidence of tension among many Negro children during the initial stages of integration. But the critical question

arises as to what price comfort? To suggest that Negro personality problems are best handled by continuing the segregationist practices that are largely responsible for these problems is a curious idea. Lobotomized patients are often more comfortable, too, but they are impaired for life.

Finally, a temporary working definition of "racial balance" is put forward, and a research design for a definitive study of racial balance is proposed. A number of social psychological considerations lead to a definition of racial balance for the current transitional phase as a school with approximately 20% to 45% of its student body Negro. The proposed research would optimally include twelve schools of specified characteristics. It would be costly, time-consuming research, but simpler designs would not be definitive.

Similar to the practical suggestions made by others concerned with this issue,[72] the following action recommendations lead from these social psychological considerations:

(A) For a host of reasons, racially-balanced education should begin in kindergarten and the first grade.

(B) Biracial schools should have biracial staffs, which include not just Negro teachers but Negro administrators as well.

(C) Negro and white staff members in biracial schools

need specialized in-service training in racial concerns. In particular, they need to learn how to deal with and not avoid this issue, how to maximize those aspects of the biracial situation which facilitate learning while minimizing those aspects which depress learning.

(D) Contact alone will not necessarily reduce interracial animosity. Indeed, human interaction tends to multiply the trend first established in an institution. It is therefore easier to desegregate a new facility right at the start than an old facility with established norms of racial separation. Since there is a constant turnover of students, this factor is usually most important for the more permanent teaching staff. Hence, it is sometimes advisable when desegregating an old facility to bring in a sizeable number of new staff members, particularly if there are recalcitrant teachers who need replacing. Moreover, Allport concludes from his review of the research evidence that the contact situation which is most effective in reducing intergroup prejudice is typically characterized by: equal status and treatment accorded both groups, cooperative seeking after common goals, and strong authority support for the contact.[73]

(E) Homogeneous ability groups (the "track" system) must be kept flexible, with frequent and periodic reevaluations.

The psychological danger of such a system in biracial schools is that it provides a subtle, but devastating, outlet for prejudice to be acted out in the name of an educational technique. Moreover, ability grouping almost inevitably freezes teachers" expectations as well as the self-images of the children themselves; thus, it is especially dangerous in the early grades.

(F) The school must venture out into its community - community in a broader sense than the immediate neighborhood. Programs need to involve parents not only in the school but also in the wider community. Negro children, especially, need to be introduced into situations where Negroes until recently rarely ventured (e.g., expensive restaurants, as in Samuel Shepard's current "operation dine-out" in St. Louis).

(G) The optimal racial ratio to strive for, at least in the initial stages of desegregation, consists of approximately 20% to 45% Negroes.

(H) Intensive research is urgently needed on all aspects of the racial balancing of schools.

To sum up, racially-balanced education is no panacea. Balanced schools offer the Negro child his best hope for the future; but they raise special problems of their own and do not in themselves guarantee solutions to the many educational and

psychological barriers impeding the Negro American today. Balanced schools are, however, an imperative first step. In simplest terms, the segregated school defeats the Negro child virtually before he begins his educational career. At least the racially-balanced school has the potentiality of offering the Negro child - and the white child - an academic and emotional preparation for tomorrow's interracial world.

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